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I. Executive Summary

The terms of Delivery Order No. 09 (DO) under Contract No. AEP-I-00-96-6003-00 required IFES to conduct a 20-week voter education program in the Middle Bosnia and Zenica-Doboj cantons of Bosnia-Herzegovina in preparation for the September, 1997 municipal elections. The IFES proposal included a Project Director based in Zenica, a sub-office manager based in Bihac, a Training of Trainers Specialist working with trainers at both sites, a group of twelve locally hired trainers and necessary local administrative and support staff. Field staff and activities were complemented by two Washington based program implementation specialists. The DO was signed on 24 April 1997. Two No-Cost extensions were authorized by USAID to complement OSCE efforts to implement election results.

Project Director Ed Morgan arrived in Zenica on 24 April and with Administrative Officer Igor Beros immediately began installing the Project. The IFES/Washington based contract manager, Stephen Connolly followed on 28 April to assist with logistics arrangements and hiring of local staff. The TA team was completed on 29 April with the arrival of Bihac Resource Center Manager Foster Tucker and Training of Trainers (TOT) Specialist Billie Day.

TOT sessions were initiated on 2 May and the first voter education seminars were held in the Zenica area the following week. TOT sessions for Bihac-based trainers began on 15 May. Voter education seminars began in the Bihac area on 19 May. IFES trainers conducted voter education seminars wherever citizens worked or congregated

The voter education program can be divided into three phases:

Phase I, which continued from 24 April to 28 June, concerned registration.

Phase II extended from 29 June to 12 September and involved a broader curriculum of democracy and human rights concepts as well as voting information.

Phase III, which took place during the two USAID-approved No-cost extensions of the Project, supported OSCE efforts to implement the results of the municipal elections.

As required by Bosnian law, all voter education activities ceased the day before the municipal elections, 12 September.

During the different phases of the Project voter education sessions (GOGs) were conducted which greatly exceeded Contract requirements:

	GOGs conducted	Attendees
Phase I	871	14,881
Phase II	1,483	18,083

During the course of the original Project period, therefore, a total of 2,354 GOGs were conducted with 33,083 citizens in attendance.

The third phase of Project activity, contributing to OSCE efforts to implement election results, was postponed due to delays in seating municipal councils. As councils in the Project area were seated, IFES teams were in attendance. Inaugural and follow-on meetings were attended in 15 of the 21 concerned municipalities. Reports on proceedings were produced and presented to the citizenry via the proven GOG format. During this period of activity GOGs were held as follows:

Phase III

GOGs conducted	Attendees
410	4659

In sum, 2764 voter education seminars were conducted attended by 37,742 citizens.

II. Background

While National, Entity, and Cantonal elections for Bosnia-Herzegovina took place on September 14, 1996, as prescribed by the Dayton Accords, the Provisional Election Commission decided in October 1996 to postpone the municipal elections until mid-1997. In December 1996 the parties agreed to OSCE supervision of the municipal elections. The OSCE undertook a limited voter education program, as part of its overall elections implementation program. Activities funded by this DO supplemented the OSCE voter education efforts.

IFES received the RFP on February 27, 1997 and submitted a proposal on March 6, 1997. USAID then revised the scope of work of the RFP and on March 20, 1997 IFES was requested to revise the proposal in line with the new scope of work. After sending the revised proposal on March 24, 1997 there followed a series of negotiations which were completed on April 22, 1997. The final Delivery Order No. 9 under Contract AEP-I-00-96-00003-00 in the amount of \$856,030.00 was signed on April 24, 1997. The estimated completion date was set at October 23, 1997.

DO No. 09 was amended twice as follows:

Amendment 1. IFES proposed a No-Cost extension to perform additional work in the area of implementing election results. This 30 calendar day extension was requested on 18 August 1997 with the goal of assisting the OSCE in the implementation of election results by visiting 21 opchina councils in Middle Bosnia and the Zenica-Doboj Cantons. It was proposed that Project staff produce reports on these sessions (see Appendix 7) and then explain to the citizenry the functioning of the council via the proven voter education seminar (GOG) format. RCO approved the proposal on August 29, 1997.

Amendment 2. On 23 October IFES proposed a second No-Cost extension to postpone the activity completion date to 23 January 1998. This proposal was necessitated by delays in the

seating of municipal councils. The extension provided time for the seating of the councils, the first organizational meetings, possibly a subsequent working session, reporting the results to citizens via the voter education seminar format, and for necessary project close-out activities. The COTR approved the proposal on 31 October 1997

III. Program Description

(Language taken from DO No. 09)

A. Project Design

Under this Voter Education Project, IFES will undertake a comprehensive voter education campaign to inform and engage people in the municipal elections. The goal of this program is to increase the number of people who are actively involved in the election process (attending candidate fora, participating in discussion groups on campaign issues, implementing GOTV efforts) and vote in an informed way.

Various methods will be used to educate and motivate individuals including the following:

- 1) In addition to re-opening the voter education Resource Center in Zenica, established during the implementation of Delivery Order #02, IFES will establish a similar Resource Center in Bihac. These centers will be equipped with computer and reproduction technologies to facilitate the production of non-partisan educational and training materials as well as provide informational and sample materials on electoral laws and procedures, on civic and voter education programs, and on related training programs. The OSCE, NGOs, the PEC, members of the media, professional educators, and political parties will have access to the IFES Resource Centers. The reach of each center will be augmented by a mobile training team with the technological, physical, and logistic support to “fan-out” to areas surrounding the centers.
- 2) Through the IFES Resource Centers, information and resources will be made available to NGOs and other groups which are implementing programs to increase the effective participation of residents of BiH in the upcoming municipal elections. Materials and resources to be provided to NGOs and the OSCE will include:
 - (a) Information and advice on training, public information, civic education, voter education, and electoral procedures from senior advisors in those areas;
 - (b) A wide selection of informational materials including examples of civic and voter education material and election laws and regulations from around the world;
 - (c) Guidance on the voter information tasks of the OSCE, as requested, such as press releases, press conferences and public meetings;

- (d) Computer, printing and audio-visual design equipment and supplies; and
- (e) Material resources for NGOs and OSCE activities, as appropriate needs and opportunities arise and resources allow.

The OSCE will also undertake a series of voter education programs designed to encourage and motivate registration, develop citizen awareness of the electoral process, and encourage voting. The IFES Voter Education Project will be coordinated with the OSCE's efforts, and with similar campaigns to be mounted by NDI and IRI in other geographic areas, so as to avoid duplication of effort and confusion in the messages made available to the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the regions surrounding Zenica and Bihac.

3) IFES will design and organize training workshops and seminars throughout the area of operation. IFES will train a minimum of 12 Bosnians through the Centers, who will in turn act as trainers for voter education and motivation workshops and seminars organized by IFES for NGOs and civic leaders. A minimum of 2 training-of-trainers workshops will be run through the IFES Centers. The mobile training teams, in close coordination with the Centers, will assist in identifying, coordinating, and training of the 12 key trainers.

In addition to the 2 training-of-trainer workshops conducted in the Centers, a minimum of 40 voter education seminars conducted by the newly trained Bosnian trainers will be delivered for NGOs and community leaders coming from the regions surrounding the centers. These seminars will be coordinated with other voter education and training organizations in order to reach the maximum number of people. Literature and posters will be distributed at the seminars ensuring that information is disseminated beyond the participants in the seminars. Evaluations will be conducted at the end of each seminar or workshop through the use of post-event evaluation forms and compilation and analysis of data.

B. Deliverables

1. Approved work plan/schedule for implementation (COTR and USAID/Washington [ENI and G Bureaus]).
2. Monthly Reports containing: review of progress, constraints, and issues with recommendations to address them with respect to impact, goals and benchmarks (COTR, USAID/Washington).
3. Verbal briefings when requested by COTR and USAID/Washington.
4. Quarterly progress reports and final report as required by the IQC contract under which this delivery order is made.

5. Voter Education Resource Centers established in Zenica and in Bihac. Mobile voter education teams coordinated by the centers will travel in the region surrounding the centers organizing at least 40 voter education seminars.
6. Approximately 12 Bosnians trained as trainers in voter education and civic activism.
7. At the end of the project, a list of the most promising civic-oriented NGOs for use by USAID in future NGO development programs.

IV. Project Implementation

A. Mobilization and Methods

i. Introduction

This 1997 Voter Education Project was, in essence, a continuation of a successful project inaugurated in the summer of 1996 (DO No. 02). That exercise ran for ten weeks, concluding with the 1996 elections on September 14-15. At that time all elective offices were filled except the municipal, locally known as opchina, councils whose elections were postponed until 1997.

Due to the impact of the voter education effort in 1996, IFES was invited to return to assist with the 1997 election and expand its area of responsibility (AOR) from the two central Bosnia cantons of Middle Bosnia and Zenica-Doboj to include the Una-Sana Canton in northwest Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, its trainers also covered the canton of Posavina, north of Republika Srpska, on the Sava River. The population of the 1998 AOR was upwards of one million people, constituting approximately one-fourth of the pre-war census of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In terms of geography, the area also approximated 25% of the total land area of BiH.

DO9 initially authorized field activity of twenty weeks, doubling the duration of DO2. This period of activity was increased to thirty weeks, under two No-Cost extensions, to provide assistance in implementation of election results within the two central Bosnia cantons in the 1997 AOR.

ii. Recruitment And Initial Training

DO No. 09 authorized fourteen locally hired personnel to conduct required field work from bases in Zenica and Bihac. Although these positions were categorized as twelve trainers and two program assistants, we ultimately had fourteen trainers with the two most junior individuals occupying the positions of program assistants. Due to the variation in size of the two areas IFES was assigned to cover, the field staff was divided so that six were assigned to Bihac and eight to Zenica. In addition to the field trainers, we had a full-time administrative officer, a full-time accountant and one full-time driver. Graphics specialists were used on an as-needed basis.

Due to the success of the 1996 Voter Education Project in Zenica, in which we had eighteen field personnel, we had little difficulty identifying the eight individuals needed this year. While their previous work under DO2 obviated the need for significant team-building exercises, a small amount of this was done as a refresher course. Training-of-Trainers began on May 2nd and included the technical aspects of the 1997 election procedures, with particular emphasis on the voter registration period which was open until June 28th. Evaluating last year's IFES publications and suggestions for revising this year's program also

constituted a valuable portion of the initial training sessions in Zenica.

During this first training phase staff agreed on the need for a new brochure describing IFES and the role of IFES Trainers in this year's election. The new brochure would also illustrate IFES' activity in BiH last year. This would no longer have us looking like "outsiders" but rather as an organization that was now indigenous to Bosnia and one that had built a reputation upon fairness, neutrality. Several of the trainers met with Velimir Alic and Igor Nuk, two graphic designers used last year. The new brochure is attached as Appendix 10. Other materials will be discussed later.

Discussions were elicited on various options for organizational systems. Democratic and authoritarian systems were specifically addressed. Multiple individual and small group exercises allowed the trainers to express their preferences for which characteristics of the systems were preferable and applicable to Bosnia-Herzegovina. One session included viewing three OSCE voter registration TV spots and a presentation from OSCE Field Election Officer Velko Miloev on political party and candidate registration for the September election. During another session the local OSCE Trainer, Novara Maric, reviewed the Registration Manual and answered questions posed by trainers.

While the training continued under the direction of Billie Day in Zenica, Connolly, Tucker, Morgan, and Beros departed for Bihac on Monday, May 5th, to handle logistical arrangements and to identify suitable trainer candidates in the Una-Sana Canton.

By mid-week office space was leased, telephone service ordered and four trainer candidates were identified in addition to a graphics specialist, if needed. In Zenica, meanwhile, trainers were checking the registration rolls for their own names and beginning to conduct voter education sessions with potential voters, interspersed with their training sessions. The voter education sessions became known as GOGs which is a local acronym for "grupa obuka gradana," meaning group or session educating citizens.

Training in Bihac began on May 15th due to the unavoidably late arrival of one local trainer candidate who was completing her second year of college in Philadelphia, PA. Training here included more team building exercises than in Zenica since most of this group did not know each other before the start of the Project and none had worked together. With one exception, the Bihac team was also younger than the Zenica team.

The Bihac group did quite well and adapted to an accelerated pace in order to become actively engaged in the voter registration phase as soon as possible. This was accomplished with the assistance of two Zenica trainers who were veterans of the 1996 effort. These trainers, Hika Seleskovic and Nino Badrov, were able to help the new Bihac team with scheduling GOGs and to enhance their presentations with delivery techniques they perfected from their previous year's experience. The outline for the training sessions as well as the evaluation of this phase of training is attached as Appendix 11.

By the time IFES Trainers began conducting GOGs they were able to fully explain the registration process for the various categories of voters, enumerate the types of identification allowed to prove eligibility to register, provide the locations of polling stations, explain the need for voters to check the Provisional Voter List, how to appeal if the voter's name did not appear on the list, and to emphasize the importance of voting.

It should be noted that IFES regarded training as a continuous process throughout this Project. One means of illustrating this dynamic, unfolding process was the rotation of trainers so that they were paired with different partners during the first few weeks. This not only helped them to get to know each other better and build an esprit de corps, but also allowed them to critique each other's performance and benefit from each other's strengths and weaknesses.

The following lists identify the IFES Zenica and Bihac staff. The early departure of Amra Sabic, to attend school in the U.S., was compensated for by the use of two part-time trainers in Bihac. Biographical sketches of the staff are attached as Appendix 12.

<u>Zenica</u>	<u>Bihac</u>
Igor Beros, Administrative Officer	Alen Vojic, Program Assistant
Nermin Nisic, Trainer	Amra Sabic, Trainer
Ninoslav Badrov, Trainer	Aida Dizdagic, Trainer
Hikmeta Seleskovic, Trainer	Almir Kurbegovic, Trainer
Miroslav Stjepanovic, Trainer	Amel Muslic, Trainer
Hamza Smajic, Trainer	Malik Kulenovic, Trainer
Zoran Adzaip, Trainer	Aladin Emrulovic, Driver
Sead Muslimovic, Trainer	Sandi Causevic, Trainer (PT)
Igor Markovic, Program Assistant	Ervin Alijagic, Trainer (PT)
Majda Smajic, Accountant	

iii. Visits With Cantonal and Opchina Officials

A successful approach developed last year was utilized again this year. Before any trainers went out to conduct GOGs both Morgan and Tucker visited the cantonal and opchina (municipal) heads of government in their respective AORs. The purpose of these visits was to introduce the IFES Project to local officials; explain our purpose under the Dayton Accord; to explain that the Project was funded by USAID; to leave copies of the IFES brochure describing our activity from last year; and to ask for letters from these officials acknowledging that we had met with them and that they understood our purpose. The reason for these letters of acknowledgment was to show anyone who questioned our activity that indeed the local mayor and cantonal president were aware of our presence and that our role was proper. Letters of approval were not required and therefore not requested.

While last year we did have some difficulty with local officials, this year all the officials

cooperated and the program was unhindered except for a few minor difficulties. In Zenica, which was a repeat area for IFES, the Project was particularly welcomed. See Appendix 13 for an example of the more than thirty letters received this year.

Throughout the course of the 1997 project Morgan and Tucker had many casual encounters with officials, particularly at cantonal assembly meetings. Attendance at these sessions was helpful because issues were discussed among the “players” in a setting that was not available elsewhere. Additionally, they were worthwhile because one got to see in action many of the personalities one dealt with and, perhaps more importantly, the local officials saw us in their arena and as a result we were viewed as a familiar, if not also a friendly, face. Summaries of a few of these sessions were prepared by Administrative Officer Igor Beros and are attached as Appendix 14.

iv. Voter Registration GOGs

The Voter Registration Period ran from May 5 to June 28. During this time IFES Trainers reached, in person, 14,881 potential voters through 871 GOGs, or voter education sessions. During this eight-week phase two-person training teams held meetings in villages and local community buildings, textile factories and paper mills, sewing centers and sawmills, brickyards and coal mines, grocery stores and schools, and even bus stops, mosques, and churches. These latter two, however, were only held with permission of the Imams or Priests. An example of a weekly schedule is attached as Appendix 15.

GOGs would last from 15 minutes to over an hour depending upon the size of the audience and the setting in which it was held. The checklist for these presentations and the questions on voter registration used in the GOGs are attached as Appendix 16.

All materials handed out during these gatherings were produced by the OSCE in Sarajevo, except for materials produced in Bihac by the OSCE, usually with the assistance of the IFES Trainers there. See Appendix 17 for a sample of this material.

In the course of many GOGs our Trainers encountered situations such as impediments to voters' access to a Registration Center due to its distance from a village or its inaccessibility to handicapped citizens. These situations would be brought to the attention of either the Local Election Commission (LEC) or the Provisional Election Commission (PEC) in Sarajevo and often remedied. An example of this is attached as Appendix 18. IFES reports on such matters such often resulted in wider use of mobile registration centers.

During this period IFES Trainers attended OSCE updating briefings to keep apprised of the latest changes in the registration rules and regulations. Morgan and Tucker were in daily contact with OSCE Field Offices in our AOR. Weekly UNHCR meetings were attended that included SFOR, IPTF, and ECMM briefings on the latest difficulties encountered within our AOR. These meetings provided warnings to Trainers of hazards such as newly discovered

mine fields or planned demonstrations that might hinder Project activities.

v. Enhancing and Utilizing Local NGOs and the Public Library

In pursuit of another avenue to fulfill the IFES mission, weekly meetings were begun in mid-May with local non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These were arranged by Sadmira Jovovic who was an IFES supervisor last year but now was working with the Danish Refugee Council and was able to help us after her normal work schedule and on weekends.

This local NGO activity was a continuation of another initiative undertaken last year to enhance the visibility of these NGOs as well as provide our project with suitable fora for GOGs within their respective organizations. IFES devoted resources to assemble and publish a local NGO Directory that described 25 different groups' programs. This publication was widely distributed and its Table of Contents is attached as Appendix 20. (This activity was the nucleus for another IFES project funded through the Mott Foundation which was designed to assist these NGOs better help themselves through building networking contacts, sound management, establishing liaison with appropriate government officials, and introducing them to fund raising possibilities.)

While this activity was underway in Zenica, Foster Tucker, in Bihac, was conducting meetings with similar groups in Bihac such as Women of the Una, the Intellectuals Club, and the Democracy Circle.

A second community outlet was the local Zenica Public Library. A great deal of material was collected from several international NGOs relative to their humanitarian and civic interests. The library agreed to serve as a Resource Center for this information as well as IFES-generated election material. To assist the library in rebuilding its depleted collection with new books, IFES also donated 29 new books worth 1,000 DM. Appendix 21 contains the list of these titles along with the letter of appreciation IFES received from the Librarian, Ms Slavica Hrnkas. A space is now dedicated to this new collection dealing with democracy, human rights, economic development, and organizational development. The availability of such materials will contribute to the long range goal of increasing public awareness of different aspects of democratic society.

vi. Pre-Election and Democracy Training

During the voter registration phase, it became apparent that additional training would be advisable for our Trainers. This was due to their desire for more information regarding democracy, a subject that they would become increasingly more drawn into during the pre-election phase of the Project, and one in which they had little or no understanding.

Shortly after the registration phase was initiated, USAID approved the return of TOT Specialist Billie Day for one week of democratization training to be conducted at the conclusion of this period. The primary intent of the program was to focus on democracy

theory, concepts and practice in response to interest expressed and needs identified during the May training program. It was also necessary to respond to practical needs of the trainers in facilitating the design of the voter education GOGs and enabling the trainers to feel more confident in their presentations before different types of audiences with new subject material.

Between June 30 and July 4 the IFES Trainer staff was assembled in Bihac for nine intensive sessions (see Appendix 22). During this second training phase, the IFES trainers also acted as a focus group to critique proposed printed material and TV spots under consideration by the OSCE.

Discussions held during the course of this training program gave the trainers an enhanced feeling of empowerment so that they could make their presentations with the assurance necessary to gain the confidence of their audiences. Furthermore, subsequent sessions with the Deputy Ombudsmen in Bihac and Zenica provided encouragement to the teams to discuss human rights without any hesitation or reservation. Human rights was a particularly sensitive issue for discussion this year in BiH and the IFES trainers were the only group apparently willing to discuss this topic in our AOR and have it highlighted in the IFES printed voter guide.

vii. Materials Development

Throughout the registration phase, IFES utilized OSCE-produced material to explain the process in its nearly 900 voter education sessions. The brochures and posters were very informative and in abundant supply. One popular OSCE item, paper shopping bags with registration and voting messages, was conceived by an IFES Trainer, Hamza Smajic.

However, for the pre-election phase, the IFES teams needed printed material as quickly as possible when they resumed their work upon the completion of the democracy training. IFES anticipated the need for a brochure that outlined the various existing levels of government in BiH so that the role of municipal government, the level at issue in this year's election, could be highlighted.

In preparing material that was requested by the OSCE in Sarajevo for inclusion in the OSCE handout, Project Trainer Nermin Nesic translated cantonal constitutions that delineated the powers delegated to the municipal governments. In addition to describing the levels of government, voting procedure was also illustrated as was done last year. And finally, as discussion on human rights was to be included in GOGs, this material was also included.

This last point, human rights, was particularly troubling to the OSCE since it was attempting to draft a generic brochure that would be delivered throughout BiH, in both the Federation and Republika Srpska, and that should focus on the election. While the IFES teams recognized the sensitivity of this issue, they were prepared to pursue the topic as a necessary component of any discussion on democracy, which is the direction the GOGs were taking.

As a result, IFES prepared its own brochure which included a section on human rights and the role of the newly created position of Ombudsman as set forth in the constitution under the Dayton Accord. Text developed by Project trainers during the pre-election democratization training in Bihac dealing with the levels of government was incorporated into the OSCE piece. Both the IFES and the OSCE brochures discussed the election day process to be followed at the polling stations.

As soon as the text was completed we once again engaged Alic and Nuk to design the graphic layout and arrange for the brochure to be printed. This was done in both Bosnian and Croatian so that the message would be understood by both audiences. A copy of this brochure is attached as Appendix 23.

In addition to the new IFES Voter Guide, it was agreed that our teams needed additional handouts to win the attention of the people they were speaking to so we also had pens to give to everyone who attended our GOGs and small note pads to the contact persons our trainers used to arrange the GOGs. These items were only distributed during the pre-election phase of the Project. The theme or message that appeared on the IFES handouts was, “Biraj za bolje sutra,” meaning “Choose for a better tomorrow.”

viii. Pre-Election GOGs And Related Activities

During this second phase the Project continued to coordinate with the OSCE to obtain the latest information on changes in the rules and regulations governing such matters as the claims and appeal process which affected all those who registered but whose names did not appear on the Provisional Voting List, the interim list of voters that preceded the final voter list.

The number of GOGs conducted each day was initially less than during the registration period due to the complexity and number of topics included in the discussions. However, in time, as the trainers became more confident with the topics they covered, their productivity increased. Following is a list of topics included in the pre-election GOGs:

Municipal Election	Levels of Government
Voting Procedure	Documents Allowed for Voting
Claims Period - July 21 to August 3, 1997	Polling Station Locations
Voting is a Fundamental Human Right	Human Rights
Party Lists & Independent Candidates	Choose Carefully - Seek Information
Importance of Voting	Holding Officials Accountable

Each team completed a report on each GOG at the end of the day indicating when and where the GOG was held, type of audience, number of attendees and any special issues that may have been raised (See Appendix 24).

A wide variety of topics surfaced in our GOGs, many unrelated to the elections. For instance

an issue arose in Serici, Vukotici, Jastrebac, and Bistricak in the Zenica Opchina. These local communities were 15 KM from the nearest “ambulanta” (local term for medical clinic.) They had a building and the manpower to convert the building into a clinic, however, they needed funds to purchase materials or get donated supplies. They were completely blocked until Project trainers put them in touch with the WHO, the World Health Organization, and assisted them in understanding how to get onto the cantonal Health Ministry's approval list for aid. The clinic is now under construction. A sampling of similar problems raised in various GOGs is included in Appendix 25. It should be noted that the trainers were invariably able to provide answers or helpful suggestions to alleviate many of these concerns.

An article detailing the types of GOGs that IFES teams conducted and the atmosphere in which these GOGs were held appeared in the Spring/Summer 1997 issue of the IFES periodical Elections Today and is reprinted in Appendix 26.

IFES teams held 2,367 voter education sessions in 653 localities throughout all 31 opchinas situated in the four cantons in which we worked between 7 May and 12 September, 1997. During this time, covering phases one and two of the Project, IFES trainers met over 33,000 voters. For a complete list of the towns, villages and local communities in which IFES teams held GOGs see Appendix 28. A statistical summary by opchina is attached as Appendix 27.

While GOGs were generally well received and successful, some were disrupted by diatribes on the failings of Dayton or the economy. There was little excitement and much frustration over the lack of lists of candidates for each party. Often people expressed a desire to be able to vote for individual candidates rather than party lists. By mid-August we finally had the party candidates lists and became quite popular since we were the only source of such information until just before the election when OSCE issued a newsprint copy of the more than 19,000 names. While this was highly appreciated it was still incomplete because it did not contain the names of independent candidates. The IFES information included all names. Charts indicating which parties and independent candidates were contesting for seats in the 29 opchinas in the four cantons comprising the IFES AOR are included in Appendix 29.

USAID visited IFES teams in the field on four occasions during this phase, including one visit by Country Director Craig Buck who held a session with four trainers in Zenica. Many others also stopped by to see how our operation was proceeding. In Bihac, for example, Foster Tucker entertained delegations from OSCE, Council of Europe, ODIHR, International Rescue Committee, NDI, the Joint Command Observers (NATO), IPTF, ECMM and Civitas. The latter two also had the benefit of Bihac Team GOG presentations.

In the case of Civitas, Tucker met with both the local and international staff and was successful in helping them enhance a democracy training program for teachers from throughout the canton. An IFES team conducted a GOG for the teachers that was very well received and highly praised by the Civitas international trainer/coordinator as “very important” and “crucial” to democracy building in Bosnia and should be done for teachers and students alike. Subsequently, Bihac trainers conducted GOGs at many secondary schools.

Another example of the proactive nature of the Bihac Team was cited in the OSCE Regional Center Weekly Report of June 22-28, 1997:

...The problem of attracting primarily the young to go out and register is not going to be solved by flooding the airwaves with more OSCE materials; more creative remedies are required. In this vein, cooperation with IFES increases daily, and their assistance in "getting out the vote" - or at least in this case, getting people to register to vote - has had enormous effects. Their youth campaign in particular seems to have yielded positive results in the urban and somewhat apathetic young population. In particular, their graphic artists designed a catchy flyer for younger voters...(See Appendix 30.)

In yet another example, the International Rescue Committee began an Information Center in Bihac aimed at providing information on programs available to the local citizenry. IFES Bihac provided material to this center and had teams conduct GOGs with groups of visitors there.

And, in another Bihac setting, one of the teams there conducted a GOG in a mosque at the invitation of the Imam. In the audience was the Cantonal Governor, Prime Minister and Minister of Police. While this level of participation is perhaps unusual, particularly for Bihac, there was nonetheless significant interest in these sessions across the Project area.

The Una Sana Canton posed many challenges due to its rough terrain, widely separated population centers, and lingering tensions caused by the Muslim-on Muslim violence it experienced during the war. Primarily in Velika Kladusa, but also in Cazin, the presence of supporters on the DNZ, the Democratic People's Union, a controversial opposition party, opened old wounds and threatened to erupt in violence. The DNZ's political activities were considered by a significant number of Una Sana residents to be nothing but an effort by war criminals to pervert democracy and take back control over territory once held by force.

Pre-election monitoring of campaign tactics and materials by the OSCE and other international observers proved difficult to accomplish in Una-Sana canton. As a result of the IFES team's highly-regarded ability to cover the entire canton, we were asked to identify potential violations and to bring them to the attention of the monitoring and coordination group. Among the violations reported were slogans painted on roadways, posters placed on municipal property, and unattributed campaign literature. Each item was followed up by OSCE staff and, when confirmed, was adjudicated according to the rules of the election. As "offenders" became aware of the increased monitoring, and that action was being taken against them, there was a marked decrease in technical violations.

Information flow and coordination are essential in this type of project. Three steady avenues both Tucker and Morgan pursued throughout this phase were the weekly UNHCR meetings attended by all humanitarian and military organizations, the OSCE's Election Results Implementation Committee comprised of SFOR, ECMM, IPTF and UNHCR representatives as well as Tucker in Bihac and Morgan in Zenica, and the third group was the Monitoring

Co-Ordination group chaired by the OSCE Human rights Officer. This last group monitored political rallies and other activities related to the election to assure compliance with the PEC rules and regulations.

Shortly after the mid-point of this phase, and following consultation with USAID, one training team from Zenica was deployed to, Posavina, the two-municipal canton that lies on the northern side of Republika Srpska along the Sava River, for approximately one week.. After meetings with the Cantonal Governor and both Mayors, Nino Badrov and Nermin Nesic spent five days in Orasje and Odzak holding 29 GOGs which were attended by a total of 321 voters. The residents of these two municipalities, isolated from the remainder of the Federation, were pleasantly surprised and welcomed our presence.

Throughout this project Morgan and Tucker visited GOGs conducted by their respective teams to monitor their presentations and offer critiques on their handling of the audiences. In addition, Igor Beros made separate site visits and provided comments (see Appendix 31).

From time to time Project activities drew press attention. Examples of this, along with an IFES news release issued at the end of this phase, are included as Appendix 32.

ix. Election Summary

All thirty-one municipalities or opchinas in which the Project was conducted lay within the Federation Entity. As shown on the map (see Appendix 37), these municipalities are located in the northwest, northern, and central portions of BiH.

In the 1997 election the leading Party of Democratic Alliance (SDA) formed a coalition with the Croatian Democratic Union. This coalition won a majority in twenty of the opchinas in the IFES AOR with the Croatian National Party (HDZ) carrying ten others while a regional party, the DNZ, won in Velika Kladusa.

Independent candidates won only one seat each in Bosanski Petrovac and Orasje. Other parties gaining sufficient votes to claim council seats were SDP BiH, Združena Lista '97, BOSS, BPS, HSSBiH, Stranka za BiH, SDC-Cazin, DNZ BiH, and Zavicaj.

In order for a party to win at least one seat it had to achieve a threshold equal to the total vote cast in the opchina divided by the number of council seats in the opchina.

Voter turnout ranged from 80 to 95% except in Zepce where, due to HDZ boycott, the turnout was only 52.70 %. The opchinas in the Middle Bosnia Canton registered the highest overall turnout at 90.96%.

The cantonal maps attached as Appendices 38-41 provide the results for each opchina within the IFES area of responsibility.

x. Post-Election Results Implementation

Under a No-Cost extension, IFES was authorized to continue the Project for six weeks in the Zenica AOR to assist in the implementation of election results. The role for IFES was to attend the first council meetings, prepare reports on proceedings, including who was elected mayor, municipal secretary and council president, and distribute the report to voters we met in earlier GOG locations. These GOGs would allow us to continue the democracy dialogues established during the voter registration and pre-election campaign periods and enable Project trainers to discuss how to approach elected officials regarding the voters' concerns and how officials may be held accountable to the people in a civil society.

All newly elected councils had thirty days from the date of the formal announcement and certification of the results of the September 14-15 municipal election to conduct Inaugural Sessions. Several delays were encountered, however, in tallying the results, thereby postponing the anticipated starting date of this phase of the project.

While awaiting the results certification, the IFES teams made preliminary contacts to arrange GOGs. During this time some Project trainers met with Judith A. McCloskey from the National Security and International Affairs Division of the General Accounting Office (GAO). She discussed their work and sought information regarding the current attitudes within our AOR.

This time was also used to meet with several mayors to apprise them of our new activity and seek their assistance in arranging meetings with the former and anticipated new opchina council presidents. This request was met with approval. Another source of information regarding council meetings was the Election Officers in the four OSCE Field Offices in our area. This group proved to be of great help since they were charged with monitoring these newly elected councils' inaugural sessions and therefore had to know when the meetings were to be scheduled.

On October 30 the first council conducted its inaugural session in Maglaj, followed the next day by Donji Vakuf. By the end of the first week in November two more councils had successfully concluded their inaugural sessions: Breza and Busavaca. In each of these cases, as well as in subsequent opchina inaugural council sessions, IFES presented to the new council an engraved gavel with the following inscription: "To Municipal Council of _____ for developing democratic process." IFES 1997. This was done immediately following the election of the new council president and accompanied by a brief letter included in Appendix 33. In each instance, these gavels were received with enthusiastic applause. The IFES presence at these sessions was also noted in the media (see Appendix 34).

In some opchinas it was clear that the parties elected to the councils came together in an understanding so that the inaugural sessions took place without difficulty. This was the case in three of the opchinas mentioned above; however, in Breza three meetings were required in order to fill positions.

Such difficulties were not unique to Breza. In Jajce, Kresova and Kiseljak considerable tension arose to prevent agreement early on. And in Zenica, the first meeting lasted only three minutes due to boycotts by both SDP and HDZ members. Here General Bertocchini, OSCE Regional Center Director from Tuzla, and Velko Miloev, the local OSCE Election Officer met with the parties to resolve differences which were ultimately overcome. Similar negotiations were required in Visoko, Vares and elsewhere.

This phase of the Project witnessed considerable contentiousness with only 16 of the 21 opchinas in these two cantons successfully fulfilling their obligations. The following chart indicates the municipalities and dates upon which their respective councils held successful inaugural sessions by the time this phase ended on December 24, 1997:

<u>Zenica-Doboj Canton</u>		<u>Middle Bosnia Canton</u>	
Tesanj	8 Nov 1997	Travnik	5 Dec 1997
Maglaj	30 Oct 1997	Vitez	27 Nov 1997
Zavidovici	6 Nov 1997	Busovaca	3 Nov 1997
Zenica	10 Nov 1997	Kresovo	6 Dec 1997
Kakanj	24 Nov 1997	Jajce	26 Nov 1997
Visoko	8 Nov 1997	Donji Vakuf	31 Oct 1997
Breza	7 Nov 1997	Bugojno	5 Nov 1997
Olovo	13 Nov 1997		

Reports were produced for each of the above opchinas, a sampling of which are included in Appendix 35. The reports list the vote totals received by each party and independent candidate and indicated who were the newly elected members of the opchina council. The newly elected council president, mayor and municipal secretary were highlighted. Any discussions were also reported, such as in the case of Olovo: tuition relief for university students and proposed taxes on automobiles. The jurisdiction of municipalities was also enumerated. A 1998 calendar was printed on the back to encourage voters to keep the report for future reference.

No official action by the end of January, 1998 in the following municipalities has occurred, although Kiseljak and Fojnica had completed their first sessions by this time and IFES teams also appeared there and made gavel presentations:

Vares	Novi Travnik
Zepce	Gornji Vakuf

It should be noted that the IFES trainers are continuing, voluntarily, to monitor these council meetings so that if there is follow-on project activity in 1998 they will be current with the latest developments in these bodies.

The local citizens are most appreciative of our informational visits and continually ask the teams to return with new information. They appear to be warming to the idea of this new-

found democratic development taking place in their country and are interested in the dialogue that encourage them to take a greater role in their country's newly established institutions under the Dayton Accord.

During the official six weeks of staff work authorized under the extension, IFES teams conducted 410 GOGs in 15 opchinas attended by 4,659 citizens. The following list indicates the number of sessions and total attendance in each opchina:

<u>Middle Bosnia Canton</u>			<u>Zenica-Doboj Canton</u>		
Bugojno	12	204	Breza	18	181
Busovaca	30	248	Kakanj	34	501
Donji Vakuf	15	136	Maglaj	22	228
Jajce	14	114	Olovo	12	110
Kresovo	11	161	Tesanj		45 598
Travnik	23	212	Visoko	33	377
<u>Vitez</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>226</u>	Zavidovici	22	305
Total	130	1,301	<u>Zenica</u>		<u>94 1,058</u>
			Total	280	3,358

A list of villages, towns, and local communities visited during this third phase is in Appendix 36.

B. Achievement of Deliverables

As indicated in the following chart, all Contract Deliverables were met with the most important, the number of voter education seminars conducted, being achieved in significant multiples of the minimum Contract requirement.

ACHIEVEMENT OF DELIVERABLES/MONITORING BENCHMARKS			
Deliverable	Quantity Required by DO	Status as of PACD	Comment
WorkPlan	1	completed	submitted 7/97
Monthly Reports	8	8 completed	fil noty not submit 12/97 (e April 7 fr list of reports)
Verbal briefings	as requested by USAID/W and BiH	completed	nnous briefs gen to USAIDH (OIR, D) and USAID/W (ENI/DG)
Quarterly Progress Report	3	completed	fil Qtrly not submit 12/98 (e April 7 fr list of reports)
Final Report	1	completed	submitted 27/2/98

Resource Centers Established	2	3 centers established	main Zenica and Bihac Centers established by 6 May; additional resource center established at Zenica Public Library 9 June
Voter Education Seminars	40	PHI 871 GOGs held PHII 1483 GOGs held PHIII 410 GOGs held	a total of 2764 Seminars were conducted throughout the 3 phases of program activity
Mobile teams operational	2	6 teams of 2 trainers canvassed the project area throughout the period of activity	Zenica teams operational the week of 5 May; Bihac teams operational the week of 12 May
Trainers trained	12	14 trainers trained	8 Zenica-based and 6 Bihac-based trainers trained
List of NGOs	1	completed	see Appendix 20

C. Lessons Learned

* Well-screened, local staff from each ethnic background who have been properly trained in this IFES project have proven to be competent and highly reliable in planting the taproot of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. .

* The trainers in this project have shown that there is no limit to what local staff can achieve with careful guidance and encouragement. Flexible staffing patterns also ensure optimum use of personnel in meeting the public at times best suited for the intended audience.

* Continuous discussion and review of experience-sharing reinforces the possibilities for future successes.

* The general public is thirsty for continued dialogue and information such as that provided by the trainers in the Project. Additional exchanges are repeatedly requested.

* Utilizing previously experienced Zenica staff was a great help in getting new staff in other locations up to par, with a degree of assurance they could not have otherwise achieved.

* Cooperation with other organizations working in our AOR such as OSCE, SFOR, IPTF, and ECMM was important in ascertaining potential dangers, hostilities, or possible demonstrations that may have impinged upon the progress of the Project.

* Comparing techniques, information, and presentation methods with similar organizations working elsewhere in BiH, such as NDI, was helpful in confirming the validity of our approach or altering our presentations to become more effective.

* The lack of media required printed information to be generated by the staff. This necessitates adequate resources.

* The geography requires a suitable number of four-wheel drive vehicles for safe coverage of difficult terrain.

* Continuous harassment and impingement on freedom of movement, although somewhat lessened since 1996, required staff identification to be issued by a recognized international organization. Similarly, vehicles used in a project such as this should have registration of international recognition.

D. Impact

IFES teams spoke directly with more than 37,000 eligible voters in conducting 2,764 voter and civic education sessions. These meetings ranged in attendance up to 111 individuals. More than 60,000 pieces of literature were distributed. IFES trainers also served as a focus group for developing some of this literature for the OSCE.

The message developed during the first two phases was also carried on more than twenty radio stations in the Bihac and central Bosnia areas where IFES operated. However, it is also important to note that site visits by IFES teams reached many citizens out of reach of the broadcast medium due to their isolation. And, trainers often assisted in offering solutions to concerns that were important to voters, albeit not directly pertinent to the election.

A conservative extrapolation from the above figures suggests the work of this project reached over 200,000 voters who would otherwise not have received politically neutral, objective yet positive information regarding the 1997 municipal election and the new spheres of government and their responsibilities created under the Dayton Agreement.

In addition, under the third phase of this project, after the election, teams appeared before sixteen newly elected municipal councils to encourage them to pursue democratic processes also envisioned under the Dayton Accord. This initiative, followed with reports on council actions taken back to the people, are the essential beginnings of democracy dialogues that voters have welcomed and have asked to be continued.

V. Conclusions & Recommendations

A fledgling democracy is struggling to take root in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mistrust of authority and a lack of confidence persist among its people. Yet even as rank-and-file voters continue to question whether or not they are really in charge of their political system, millions of Bosnians dutifully went through the registration process and then cast their votes on polling day. Hopeful signs indeed. Out of the confusion and acrimony of four years of war has come a fragile peace brokered and maintained by international force. But if that peace is to be secured, it must be embraced and nurtured by the Bosnians themselves and by those they elect to hold the reigns of power.

To accomplish this, voters must feel connected to their government. Mere voting alone will not provide them with the necessary personal investment to view democracy as a way to build a better Bosnia. Rather, education and direct familiarity with grassroots political activism and techniques must be provided to bring into focus the alternatives to armed combat that democracy offers to settle disputes, make social change, and draw together disparate voices for the common good.

IFES' work in Bosnia to date has clearly demonstrated the value of providing unbiased information via an organized format at the grassroots level. Tens of thousands of people, from farmers to doctors, have attended these meetings to discuss such questions as "What is an informed voter?", "How do you hold a leader accountable?", or "Can one vote really make a difference?" Our peer-to-peer delivery system has helped make the political process more approachable and relevant. Where before, people were guarded and suspicious of expressing their opinions, our teams have been able to engage diverse groups in lengthy and ongoing discussions on everything from human rights to how to raise and spend local tax revenues.

Out of our latest efforts at engagement, in the post-election period, have come more informed and interested voters, voters better able to understand democratic principles and then utilize this understanding to seek services and push for new policy initiatives. By taking theoretical democracy and applying it in local, real-world situations, IFES trainers have been successful in breaking down long-standing barriers between the people and their government.

The successful transition to a democratic system in Bosnia is significantly more complicated than providing the opportunity for free and fair elections. It requires follow-up, education, and specific training in how to utilize the structures of a democratic civil society. These must

be the priorities of USAID and the international community in the run-up to the 1998 elections.

IFES stands ready to expand its operation, both geographically and in scope, to address these vital issues. For only when Bosnia's people are able to speak their minds to their leaders, and have their leaders listen and act accordingly, will the country have turned a critical corner in its political development and set its course firmly on the path of a truly participatory democracy.

VI. APPENDICES